

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 41

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1900.

Whole No. 91.

BREWSTER OF BROOKLYN JOINS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The following is the letter addressed by Eugene V. Brewster to Mr. Bryan, in which he declares for Debs and abandons all half-way measures for the program of the Social Democratic party:

"My Dear Mr. Bryan: I am constrained to inform you that I can no longer consistently support the Democratic party, nor yourself for the presidency so long as you and it retain the present well known position on public questions.

"You have long been aware of the differences between us, yet you were always aware that I have done my utmost, in my humble way, to effect a union of reform forces under your leadership.

"While I have differed with you I have always maintained that you are today the one great agitator and orator in the public eye and the one man who could relieve the country from the tyranny of the present administration by defeating the next republican nominee. I even wrote an article, which appears in a recent magazine, showing by facts and figures how you could and should be elected. But in the past few months strange and unforeseen conditions have been forcing me to alter my position, until I am driven to either continue in the democratic party, hated by myself for my hypocrisy and inconsistency, else openly leave that part and enjoy the luxury of absolute freedom.

"I admit that there are thousands of others holding opinions like unto mine who will remain with you till the end, and I know that they call themselves opportunists. They base their actions upon the doctrine of 'the lesser of two evils,' or, perhaps, upon the idea that the Chicago platform is a stepping stone to future reforms. But this no longer satisfies me. A compromise of this kind only retards and delays. I have no doubt that you could and would, if president, do much good and greatly alleviate the sufferings of the masses. An opiate will temporarily relieve the pain of a broken limb, but it will never cure; some time the bones must be set. Let the patient remain too long under the opiate without repairing the real injury and it is too late.

"The trust question, to which you are devoting most of your attention, involves the very greatest and really the only problem that the American people have to solve. Regretfully, you seem to see only one side of the case, and seeing only evil on that side, you would unhesitatingly destroy the trust. You do not seem to realize, dear Mr. Bryan, that the same arguments that you apply to the trust also apply equally well to improved machinery, and yet you would not destroy that. It seems very clear to me that the machine and the trust are given to us by an all-wise Creator to lighten and lessen our toil, and that only the stupid management of them has made them a curse rather than a blessing. The question is, then, How can we retain the good qualities of the trust and the machine and eliminate their bad qualities? There can only be one answer—public ownership and control. This may mean Socialism, but there is no other way out of it. It is a natural law of evolution. It is inevitable, be it for weal or for woe.

"I have carefully studied the conditions and the many remedies offered by various parties and factions, and it seems to me that co-operation—socialism—is the only possible remedy.

"Being convinced of this, and seeing the great party leader taking a stand diametrically opposite, and believing that the party is rapidly deteriorating from its '96 character, how can I consistently support the democratic party, that seeks to destroy one of man's greatest achievements—the magnificent organization of industries called trusts?

"Again, for several years I have been writing and speaking publicly on these questions, doing what little good I can, but now, many papers and magazines will not print my articles and many organizations will not permit me to address them, because of my known friendship and admiration for you and your party, fearing that I might acquire influence which I would use to injure the cause at the polls. Again, I am not sure that I am not doing you an injury while professing allegiance to you and at the same time teaching that you are wrong. Still again the public press persists in treating me as your representative, and you are therefore often misquoted and misrepresented.

"I can see no hope of ever obtaining any permanent reform through the democratic party, however radical be its platform. Both of the old parties are fast rotting away with corruption, and even after '96 I see the vast and beautiful organization of the democratic party controlled at almost every point by a human hyena grimly waiting for plunder. There must be a new party, and I am not sure that that party is not the one just formed by the two Socialistic factions and headed by Eugene V. Debs.

"While Mr. Debs cannot possibly win this year, and while I am nomination and the action of the populists make the election of Mr. McKinley almost certain, I feel that I could not help you much, even were I to remain in the party, because you certainly cannot carry this state and my vote, and my support would therefore be worthless.

"But, on the other hand, my vote and the votes of many who feel as I do, if cast for Debs, would add much to the cause of true reform because of the moral influence of a large vote.

"Finally, I am no longer content to waste time in fighting half-way reforms and compromises, and believe that the best and the quickest results come by strict adherence to one's principles. If half the magnificent energy and divine devotion displayed in our churches, our prohibition parties, our anti-saloon leagues, our charity organizations, our anti-vice crusades, etc., were spent in a cause that strikes first at the root of all these evils, in a cause that seeks first to set right our economic conditions, how soon would we see the end of poverty, vice and plenty walking hand in hand!

"Believe me, Mr. Bryan, I have the deepest respect and admiration for you personally, as have nearly all men, but I do hope that you will some time see the situation and the only true remedy as clearly as we do who have, as we think, gone more deeply into economics. With all your brilliancy and marvelous oratorical and rhetorical powers, you could soon bring the world to your feet.

"Trusting that you will receive this in the kindly and sincere spirit in which it is given, and that you will see the necessity of my giving publicity to my position, I beg leave, my dear Mr. Bryan, to remain yours with deep respect and esteem,
Eugene V. Brewster."

Composition of the Convention

As secretary of the committee on credentials at the national convention of the Social Democratic party held in Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1900, I prepared a record from which are obtained the following facts:

Seventeen states were represented by sixty-seven delegates with credentials for 2,120 votes. This was less than half of the membership in good standing, the scattered branches not being represented.

An analysis of delegates' occupations shows sixteen to be of the professional class, eleven of the business class, and forty of the wage-working class.

The oldest delegate was 65 years of age, and the youngest 22. The average age was a little less than 38.

The following callings and occupations were represented:

Artist and illustrator,	Manufacturer,
Blacksmith,	Meat cutter,
Cabinetmaker,	Merchant,
Carriage painter,	Miner,
Cigar maker,	Minister,
Coach painter,	Office clerk,
Commercial traveler,	Pattern maker,
Editor,	Printer,
Farmer,	Printing pressman,
Housewife,	Proof-reader,
Insurance agent,	Publisher,
Iron worker,	Real estate broker,
Jeweler,	Salesman,
Journalist,	Secretary,
Laborer,	Shoemaker,
Lawyer,	Student,
Lecturer,	Stenographer,
Machinist,	Tailor.

Tiffin, Ohio.

Chas. R. Martin.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT SPEAKS ON THE TRUSTS

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott spoke at the home of E. V. Brewster, Brooklyn, March 15, before the Brooklyn Co-operation club. There was present an enthusiastic audience and great interest was shown in the presentation of the Social Democratic view of trusts. Mr. Abbott said, in part:

"I believe the time is not far distant when the competitive system, with all its bitterness and misery, will be succeeded by co-operative commonwealth, the motto of which will be, 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' Our 'Democracy' today is a sham. Our government is simply plutocracy. A few capitalists have in their hands power never dreamed of by the worst monarchies of Europe. Fifty men can demoralize industry. We are slaves in a slavery such as the world has never seen. There is only one remedy, co-operation, and only two ways to attain it—first, by voluntary action; second, by political action. The first has been proved a will-o'-the-wisp. The founding of little Utopias in different parts of this country has resulted in nothing but failure. Their founders have gone back upon industrial experience, and gone back upon progress. We must progress with the world. The latest evolution of industry, the trust, is the very climax of co-operation. The Standard Oil trust is the most magnificent example of co-operation. But it is for the capitalists. Yet don't d cry it.

My only objection to the trust is that it does not take us all in. It seems to me as sensible a thing to say, 'Go throw back the waters of the Mississippi on its source,' as 'Go destroy the trust.' It seems to me as ridiculous a thing to plead for a return to the stage coach as to plead for a return to the small store and the individual capitalist. Why, the trust is the greatest product of individual intellect. We want a trust for all, owned by all. People are fond of saying there are no classes in America. What about your 'Four Hundred'? What about your 'East Side'? There are three classes—the capitalist, the middle class, and the laboring man, and each so well defined that it may be said each has its separate party. The first is represented by McKinley, the second by Bryan. But the tendency today is to crush out the middle class, and for one of the middle class that go up into the plutocracy, ninety and nine go down. It is a dying party. The last party which is now but coming into existence is the party that shall yet control the destinies of America—the Socialist party, and Debs is its standard-bearer. Massachusetts, which led in the revolt against English tyranny and led in the emancipation of the slaves, is now leading the new great movement, and what has been done there in Haverhill may be and will be done elsewhere in America." (Applause.)

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

The spirit of consecration and hard work which lies at the very heart of every successful movement, is permeating the Social Democratic party for the mighty campaign of 1900. We are in the field with candidates whose fitness to lead a great working class movement to the polls everybody concedes. The party is based upon the solid rock of uncompromising Socialism. No fusion is anywhere thought of; no compromise with the forces of middle-class reform or reactionary politics is possible. We are moving straight along the middle of the people's highway to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Looking over the field from the vantage point of the editor's chair, we can see along the line an organization stimulated by a splendid hope and courage. Everywhere is the answering recognition to the call of duty. This much is settled already, whatever besides may remain unsettled: There is to be union among Socialists this year for a political strike at the ballot box. And this is enough to inspire every Socialist to renewed and active service in the cause.

Now let us ask you what in your opinion our cause needs most just at this time? Is it not organization? If yes, then what form should organization take? Remember the record of the branches where the party has entered the political field in the past. Is it at all probable that a more effective form of organization can be devised for the campaign? Through the local branches we have made a record of progress that has never been equaled. With the branch organization and its possibilities as a center of agitation and education, the membership is now familiar. It has been tried and not found wanting. Let us adhere to it where it is established and plant it where it is unknown.

Now everyone will admit that the basis of all successful organization is an idea. You can only organize and persist and accomplish things if your organization stands for a principle—an idea. Next to the idea comes literature. First, you must have an idea; then reach the people through literature—the Socialist newspaper and book—and organization follows as a matter of course.

How many of you have yet done any figuring on the expenses of this campaign we are about to undertake? Do you realize that it will be necessary for

everyone of us to tackle this matter of the national campaign fund? The Herald sees that there is not a day to be lost in exchanging ideas and formulating plans. We want the co-operation of every Socialist publisher in the country. We are going to ask each of them to give this important question the greatest prominence in their columns. We must reach a million men and women in the country who are willing to contribute to the national campaign fund according to ability, and we here and now urge our comrades of the Socialist press to call upon their readers for subscriptions to a national fund to be used for campaign purposes—that is, for supporting speakers and organizers in the field, printing and furnishing literature, etc.—the same to be expended under the supervision of a national campaign committee.

The sooner this work is begun the more satisfactory will be the results reached next November.

Suppose in attempting to reach a million individual subscribers to the national campaign fund we begin among ourselves and all do our duty within the organization? All right. How much money can we raise, beginning May 1 and ending November 1? The answer to that question must necessarily depend upon the readiness with which every Social Democrat responds with his individual subscription. If every one, beginning May 1 and continuing to November 1, gives 50 cents a month, the national committee would have a fund of \$15,000 at least—and that is the least the committee should have to make the effective campaign which everybody contemplates from Debs and Harrison to "Jonas Harrison" of Puckerbrush. The editor of The Herald is even quite sure that \$25,000 is none too much to properly finance the campaign ahead of us. More than that, the editor is willing without consultation to venture the assertion that the practical way to raise an adequate campaign fund of \$25,000 is for each member of the Social Democratic party to pledge himself for 50 cents per month, starting May 1. If the members of the party will hustle and get in their pledges to the national secretary-treasurer for 50 cents each for seven months, the moral and psychological influence of such a superb beginning will have the effect of securing pledges for \$10,000 more within sixty days from May 1. Let the

membership show their faith by their works, and the non-affiliated Socialists of the country will come to their assistance in this fight against the class and the system that pauperizes labor and debases humanity.

It should be remembered, too, that we will have three funds: National campaign fund, to be used, as stated above; voluntary monthly fund, to defray expenses at headquarters, enlarge and improve the paper, and build up the national organization; the propaganda fund for organizers, lecturers and to circulate papers, tracts, etc.

In this connection we desire to say that Comrade Eugene V. Debs has fully and unalterably made up his mind under no circumstances to take one dollar of any fund raised or proposed to be raised on his personal account. He appreciates most thoroughly the motive of those comrades at Indianapolis who proposed to relieve him of the old obligations connected with the struggle of 1894, but he writes: "Under no circumstances will I take one dollar. I am going to fill my lecture engagements, and this will put me out of debt. I don't want the money raised, and if it is raised I shall refuse it." It is above all else the wish of Comrade Debs that the national committee, when chosen, shall have at its disposal a campaign fund equal to the demands and responsibilities which will be made and devolve upon it.

There will be found among our membership many who can contribute more than 50 cents per month and any in excess of that sum will make good the inability of a few to give their full quota. Now, let the month of April be a season of preparation for the campaign, so that the national campaign committee, which will be organized by May 1, shall come to its great task knowing that it will be able to accomplish substantial results because it has the united and enthusiastic support of the members of the organization. With that support it can make an appeal to others, not organically associated but in full sympathy with us, that will be heard and receive hearty response.

The order of the day and the month for April, then, is individual pledges of Socialists to the national campaign fund.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED.

Joseph Flinn, Chicago.....	\$50.00
Eugene V. Debs.....	5.00
J. H. Hirt, Great Falls, Mont.	1.00

AMONG THE PHILISTINES

St. Paul Dispatch: "There is much popular misapprehension as to the character, antecedents and ultimate purposes of the so-called Social Democracy which has just nominated Eugene V. Debs for president of the United States. But the misapprehension is vanishing rapidly wherever the 'ultimate purposes' are understood.

New York Sun: "According to the Hon. John C. Chase, Socialist and mayor of Haverhill, Mass., 'the condition of the American people is worse today than at any other time in the world's history,' and the workingman is not so free as the southern slaves were. In the interests of science we should like to have a peep at the inside of Mr. Chase's head, and to know what his usual temperature is."

The Sun editor would be surprised to know how many prominent men in the country not ordinarily credited with having wheels in their heads fully agree with the mayor of Haverhill—that is, he would be surprised were he capable of learning anything about the condition and interests of the common people.

Baltimore Herald: "After a somewhat protracted period of obscurity, Eugene V. Debs, leader of the disastrous Chicago railroad strike and oracle of rad-

ical and reactionary elements, steps once more into the light of publicity. He has been nominated for president by the national convention of the Social Democratic party, and will be heard from at frequent intervals between now and next November."

"Reactionary elements" is very good, coming from a mouthpiece of that sophistical and idealess party whose political mausoleum is to be built at Lincoln, Neb.

Chicago Journal: "As a matter of fact, Mr. Debs is quite a mild-mannered man, who holds some extreme opinions upon public questions and who believes that he has discovered the correct solution of most of them. His attempt in 1894 to settle the labor question by a general strike ended in failure."

Yes, and not the least interesting feature of the Journal during the past twelve months has been the editorial endorsement of many of these "extreme opinions" and "correct solutions." The Journal has had views upon "public questions." What is to become of them now? Are they to go out of view?

Minneapolis Times: "At their national convention in Indianapolis the Social Democrats nominated Eugene V.

Debs for president and Job Harrison for vice president. Mr. Debs has demonstrated his ability as an organizer and leader, and his nomination by the united Social Democrat and Socialist Labor forces is by no means illogical. He is one of the ablest and certainly one of the most enthusiastic advocates of the principles laid down in the platform of the combined Socialist parties."

Next fall the Times editor will have an opportunity to say that Debs has demonstrated his ability as a vote-getter. We quite agree with his present view

that the nomination was a logical one for Socialists to make, and the idea of November will bring the capitalist penmen something really good to write about.

Providence Journal: "If what has generally been told about the man (Debs) is not wholly incorrect, he is much too well-informed and shrewd to think for a moment that he and his party can secure enough votes to cut any noticeable figure in the returns next November."

We are a people with a very unique variety of discontent, coupled with a very

ures will be required to officially record our numbers next November. We think about 1,000,000 will be a good strong conviction that about seven fig-starter, whether it will be a "noticeable" matter for the Journal or not.

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Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
JESSE COX, SEYMOUR STEEDMAN,
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER,
FREDERIC HEATH, Secretary

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Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

91 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 92 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 31, 1900.

TO SOCIALIST PUBLISHERS

Elsewhere in this number The Herald outlines a plan for raising the national campaign fund to be used by the national campaign committee. It is there suggested that all publishers of Socialist newspapers in the country co-operate with The Herald in raising the fund. This they can do by opening their columns to subscriptions, acknowledging the same every week and remitting to National Secretary Debs, who will be custodian of the fund until the national committee is organized and a treasurer elected.

The Herald invites the earnest co-operation of its contemporaries in this highly important work. The national committee should be in a position to finance that part of the work allotted to it as soon as organized. None are in a position to render the movement at this time more effective service than the editors and publishers. Let us hear from them through their columns.

OUR THREE FUNDS

On the first page this week attention is called to a matter which should receive the earliest attention possible of the local branches throughout the country. Reference is made to the national campaign fund. For some months, as Herald readers know, a list of contributors to the voluntary monthly fund has been printed, also every week a report of small contributions to the propaganda fund. Both will be continued. The first is used in defraying expenses of headquarters and ultimately, whenever the national board feel warranted in so doing, in enlarging and improving the paper. Each contributor to this fund, gives \$1 or more per month for one year. The propaganda fund is used for organizers and to circulate sample papers, tracts, etc.

Now that the campaign is near and the national committee will need funds for the specific work incident thereto, it becomes necessary for every member of the organization to interest himself in devising the best method for raising money. The Herald, as a suggestion that seems practical and appeals direct first to the membership, outlines a plan in the first-page article. We trust that no time will be lost in giving most thorough attention to this matter. It is of primary importance and if the plan suggested meets with approval, it should be put into operation at once.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The supercilious editors of capitalist newspapers, with the usual flippancy that marks their discussion of all public questions, are treating as a joke the declaration of the Social Democratic platform in favor of the emancipation of women. This sort of thing suits us exactly. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad or foolish. We are proud to stand before the country as the only party committed unequivocally to the cause of womankind. Before the campaign is over this attitude of the party will be understood by influential women in every section of the country and the puny efforts of the penny-a-liners will be silenced.

The Herald commends to the women of the United States the example of Miss H. Augusta Howard, of Columbus, Ga., who sends in the first contribution of \$5 to the national campaign fund. Miss Howard is a well-known leader among women conspicuous in the south in the cause of human freedom. Her example is one altogether worthy of being followed, and with full confidence that it will be, The Herald opens its columns to subscriptions to the national campaign fund from women, with Miss Howard at the head of the list.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND—WOMAN'S LIST
H. Augusta Howard, Columbus, Ga. \$5.00

Open Letter to Dr. Harper

Dear Doctor: I noticed by the daily papers that you have lately experienced a sweaty time raising a large bundle of money for Chicago University. This surprised me, because we have been paying 2 cents a gallon more for coal oil than previously, and I supposed we would hear that it was in your interest. John D. must have temporarily forgot-

ten you in the hustle and confusion incidental to raising the late large dividend for the stockholders in that beneficent institution, the Standard Oil graft.

I am too busy to see John, so when you next call him up just tell him I will bet him a cookie that eight years hence he will not be able to persuade the workmen to vote against Socialist candidates by promising to spend \$50,000 improving his villa.

The "dog-day" season must begin earlier this year, for I notice that you have muzzled your professors so that they cannot talk about Standard Oil educational news. Keep up your lick!

Your class-conscious friend,
Chicago. JACK POTTS.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Many of the capitalist newspapers of the country seem to take special delight in pointing out that the Social Democratic party is in favor of the right of suffrage regardless of sex. The Philistines are doing us a real service and one that we fully appreciate. It is true that the Social Democratic party is the only one in the country committed unequivocally to the emancipation of women, and before the campaign is over the apologists for everything that is vile and unjust in the existing order of things will throw up their hands in astonishment at the interest of the women of the land in what it pleases them to call the "Debsonian" party.

The Rochester (N. Y.) Post-Express considers the platform of the Social Democratic party "the most extraordinary declaration of political principles ever put before the American people." And so it is. We are no ordinary people. If you want something very ordinary—and useless—go to the party supported by the Post-Express. The American people are coming to see that an extraordinary economic condition—growing out of a capitalistic revolution in industry—requires an extraordinary declaration. We propose to supply what increasing numbers of people want.

Social Democracy demands that production and distribution shall become a function of society, the state to be used as an instrument of administration of industry. What is known as democracy (with its anti-trust nonsense) is the negation of progress. A true democracy is impossible where the means of life are controlled by a class. Something more than the right to vote is necessary to a democracy; the right to live, for example. Social Democracy means the right to life, liberty and the enjoyment of the fruits of one's labor. Compare that with Bryan democracy.

Mr. Elbert Hubbard, editor of The Philistine, in a lecture at Providence recently, told his audience that there are forty-seven kinds of Socialism, more or less. An eastern newspaper, taking this as a text, makes the ridiculous statement that "it might be thought that Mr. Bryan is enough of a Socialist to suit the most exacting." Many kinds of Socialism there may be, according to the mental confusion anywhere prevailing; but there will this year be only one party with a definite Socialist program. That will be the Social Democratic party.

Social Democrats oppose neither the law of gravity nor the movements of the planets in their appointed courses—because it isn't worth while. For the same reason, not being worth while, they do not oppose the formation of trusts. They seek to make the trusts serve the general good of society. The realized program of Social Democracy means the general good.

Speaking last week in New York on the social reform movement in the west, W. D. P. Bliss made it clear that he no longer believes the step-at-a-time Bryan democracy has any future and that Bryan will be defeated. But Mr. Bliss did not make quite clear the point as to what may be expected from men, like himself, who have contended so strongly for the step-at-a-time policy.

The Indianapolis News says that the successes of the Social Democratic party have not been so much conquests of principle as office-seeking ventures, and in the same article admits that its principal successes have been achieved against combinations of both the old parties to defeat Socialism.

The Nashville Banner (Rep.) thinks the Social Democrats will draw away a radical element that voted for Bryan in 1896. The Banner is right for, once, But the S. D. will also draw away thousands of working men who were coerced into voting for McKinley in 1896. Stick a pin there.

Comrade Chas. H. Vail, author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," writes us as follows: "Have received The Herald—double number. It is a splendid number. You are to be congratulated. I am more than pleased with the work of the convention. We shall make great progress in the next year."

The New York Mail and Express naively informs its readers that "there is

a Social Democrat party and a Social Democratic party in this country." The simplicity of many of our great metropolitan editors is equaled only by their ignorance.

The Nebraska platform as the last word of the Bryan brand of statesmanship is a lame and impotent conclusion. More than ever before the country is coming to understand that Mr. Bryan does not understand the economic questions of the day.

The Haverhill Gazette thinks the constitution will be revised about the time Mr. Debs is elected president on a Socialist ticket. We are inclined to agree with it. We'll revise a whole lot of things besides the constitution when we elect a president.

True, the Social Democratic party demands revision of our antiquated Federal constitution. But the McKinley party, to suit the convenience of its capitalist masters, favors its gradual obliteration.

The old parties may not be exactly shaking in their shoes, but many who represent the old parties are already howling so vigorously that one naturally thinks they have been in the cucumber patch.

BOOK NOTICES

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; price, 10 cents.

Two distinct characteristics recommend this particular edition of the notable work by Engels: First, it is not abridged, but is an exact reproduction of the English edition in every respect; second, it is not mutilated in translation, but conveys faithfully the virile thought and comprehensive ideas of the author. It is undoubtedly the best reproduction of one of Engels' masterpieces yet issued from the American press. The work itself is given a special interest by the author's brilliant introduction. To understand the historical conditions which have been productive of the science of Socialism, every workingman should read one or more of the works of those writers who have contributed to the intellectual exposition of that science, and among them all, few, if any, are clearer or more profoundly interesting than Engels. The work has been widely read in Europe, and, being one of the classics in radical and searching authorship, we hope it will find a million readers this year in the United States.

Vote Will be a Surprise

The nomination by the Social Democratic Party of Eugene V. Debs of Indiana and Job Harriman of California as candidates for President and Vice-President, marks a stage of distinct advance in the great reform movement now going on in this country. Very few men in the United States are better known than Mr. Debs, and among labor organizations of all kinds, and the common people generally, no man is more fully trusted for sincere devotion to their just interests, nor more thoroughly esteemed and loved than he.

They believe, and not without good reason, that neither Rockefeller nor Mark Hanna, nor both combined, with all their millions, could buy Eugene V. Debs away from the cause of justice, which to him is the cause of the laboring world today. Mr. Harriman, whose home is in Los Angeles, is also widely and favorably known. These candidates, standing for the principles they stand for, will of a certainty be sustained at the next election by a large vote, and it is quite likely to be a surprisingly large vote.—Civic and Social Problems.

Machinists-Made Bread

That tedious process which every housewife, as well as every baker, dreads—kneading bread—is now done by a machine.

It has been evolved from the fertile brain of Peter Bryce of Indianapolis. This apparently simple combination of cogs and wheels, pans and linked chains, can do the work of eight expert bakers, and do better work. The object of its construction, primarily, is to knead and shape the dough into loaves, and the lightning rapidity with which the sticky, shapeless mass is transformed into smooth, round loaves is marvelous.

Sixty loaves a minute—12,000 loaves a day—is its record, and its inventor claims that the end is not yet.

Misshappen lumps of dough are placed in pans fastened on an endless linked chain, which dumps their contents into the maw of the contrivance. They are quickly sucked between rapidly moving rollers, becoming smaller and smaller until, nearly perfect, they are thrown, one at a time, into a canvas cradle, which deftly rolls them and in turn dumps them into pans, whence they are taken to the oven to be baked.

Only two of these machines are in existence—one is in Indianapolis and the other is in Chicago—but it is expected that a small machine for household use will soon be made.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The Right to Marry

"No workingman has a right to marry," is the remarkable statement made this week by George Morley, president of the Morley Bros' Saddlery Company of Chicago. More remarkable still is the report that many other employers of labor warmly indorsed Morley's views.

In the course of an interview with a delegation of harness makers, President Morley is said to have questioned the right of toilers to wed and bring up children amid the conditions prevailing in the industrial world of today.

This statement shows the high-water mark of injustice. It shows how the tidal wave of industrial oppression is undermining the very foundations of the American home, and now threatens to overturn it entirely.

After all, it is not so remarkable. It is but the open expression of one capitalist of what all other capitalists are silently seeking to accomplish. The fancy of this capitalist is simply the fact of capitalism. The capitalistic system daily denies, in ways more potent than speech, the right of labor to home and happiness.

Without considering the question as to whether laboring men have a right to marry, certain it is that only a very brave man or a very foolish one would dare to do so, as conditions are today.

The Right to Mar

This is one side. There is another. Even if it be true that laboring men have no right to marry "under these industrial conditions," is it not true that capitalists have no right to so change industrial conditions in their greed that marriage becomes a suicidal crime? If labor should not marry, capital should not marry.

Our working class is being sacrificed on the altars of mammon in order that the rich might propitiate the god of fortune. We are being robbed of our hovels that the rich may have yet larger palaces.

Do these harness makers in Morley's employ not see that they are creating harness for their own backs? And wearing it, does Morley's remark not remind them that a horse has no "right to turn its head stablewards until its master directs?"

Have not they—have not all of us—learned by this time that the wage system is wage slavery, that a private employer is a slave's master, that so long as we sell ourselves to capitalists for our wage and their profit we must submit to whatever restrictions they may choose to put upon us?

For years every old-party workingman voter has been a harness maker on election day. And on the three hundred and sixty-four days following he has vainly kicked at the traces and impatiently gnashed his bit.

Appeal to Your Reason

Emerson said: "Fear, craft and avarice cannot rear a state." But these forces can overthrow a nation. Under the present competition plan of running a state,

"Trade and the streets ensnare us,
Our bodies are weak and worn;
We plot and corrupt each other,
And we despoil the unborn."

"Things refuse to be mismanaged long."
The Socialist thinks they have been
mismanaged long enough and
therefore refuses to vote for old-

party candidates who
"Being for seeming bravely barter
And die to Fame a blessed martyr."

"The farmer imagines power and place are fine things. But the President has paid dear for his White House. It has commonly cost him all his peace and the best of his manly attributes. To preserve for a short time so conspicuous an appearance before the world he is content to eat dust before the real masters who stand erect behind the throne."

If Emerson were now living he could not write a better description of national affairs. No thinker can deny that ours is a government for, of and by trusts and monopolies. "Nature hates monopolies and exceptions. The waves of the sea do not more speedily seek a level from their loftiest tossing than the varieties of conditions tend to equalize themselves. There is always some leveling circumstance that puts down the overbearing, the strong, the rich, the fortunate, substantially on the same ground with all others." Therefore the socialist is perfectly in line with the cosmic law when he comes with the slogan of "Equal opportunities for all, special privileges for none."

Reader, are you a Christian, and do you want His will done "on earth as it is in heaven?" Are you a Theosophist desirous of making "good karma?" Then why not for the first time cast a vote for real law and order? Could you lose anything? What have you gained thus far by voting otherwise? Do you know the fundamental principle of Socialism? It is simple: Co-operation! Get some easy Socialist literature and study it without prejudice. Do not allow

Let every workingman next November be a harness-breaker instead, and then labor will not only have the right, but the might to marry.

Harper's Harplings

The industrial conditions of today prevent more than the working class from marriage and parentage. Every class, except the exclusively rich, is being bound in bachelor bondage.

President Harper, of the University of Chicago, in a recent baccalaureate sermon, painted a pessimistic picture of the life that awaits the young men of today. He spoke of one profession after another, and showed how that in choosing any of them young men faced almost insurmountable obstacles.

Such a sermon sounds strangely coming from the head of an institution of which Rockefeller is proprietor and boss. The university is professedly preparing young men for a successful career in life, while the power that sustains the institution is in reality preparing industrial conditions so as to make a successful career impossible.

Capitalism is like a huge giant, that mercifully saves men by its charitable hands, and afterwards crushes them to death beneath its industrial feet.

What a cursed mockery is this! Institutions are founded for the education of youth. The higher aspiration for nobler things are awakened and developed. And then, as the young man, full of hope and ambition and enthusiasm, stands on the threshold of business life, he finds before him the pit of failure that the grasping hands of capitalism have dug for him! And into it, with blasted hopes and smothered ambitions, he falls!

Have you a vote? Have you a heart? Have you a boy?

Socialism and the Home

An old and threadbare charge against socialism has been that it would destroy and obliterate the home. Probably every fool in the universe has voiced this insane objection.

Out of the mouths of Morley and Harper comes the refutation of the charge: The one claims that workingmen have no right to marry and have a home, while the other shows that even professional men could not support a home, if they had it.

If these conditions continue as they are, it is doubtful if there will be any homes for socialism to destroy when it is inaugurated. The home is now being steadily and surely destroyed by a system which deprives the home provider of the opportunity to work, and thereby maintain the home.

Too many of us know, by sad experience, how hollow is the name of home. We have gone to the hovels that custom calls homes, after a day's weary march up street and stair, seeking a chance to sell our labor for a fraction of its value. With that heavy heart and foot we have approached the door, and greeted the wife's dumb inquiry with a silence more blasting than a curse!

And so long as we are refused work or allowed to work only for the profit of a private employer, we may expect to find our home a hell and our happiness a myth.

MERLIN.

unwise talk or actions of some Socialist to divert you; there are likely to be such, for there are many foolish persons in the ranks of the old parties, and as the Social Democracy is recruiting constantly from the "orthodox" people, they may possibly join us. But at least credit them with knowing a good thing when they see it!

The present wrongs are so great, the prospect of future greater iniquity is so portentous, that I wish the signs of the times might be written on the sky in letters of fire, so men could not sleep o' nights. It is a time for serious thought by all who believe in God, or, not believing thus, who yet recognize justice.

F. S. G.

Breaks the Record

The "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., as it is now known all over the world among socialists and non-socialists as well, broke the record for a week recently.

In addition to the usual average of 2,200 new subscribers, 821 names came in from Painters and Decorators of America Local Union No. 147, Chicago; 425 from Union No. 194, and 1,003 from that well known socialist, W. R. McBride of Melbourne, Australia, who ordered the Appeal sent to every editor in Australasia. The extra postage makes every copy cost 50 cents.

The Appeal is working for half a million subscribers during the coming 12 months. It is enjoying a veritable boom in all parts of America, as this weekly increase of over 4,400 attests. "The little paper out in Kansas" is going a pace that means Socialism is taking deep hold upon the people.

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ORGANIZATION

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Tormer street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Chicago, Ill.

Chairman, Corinne Brown; secretary, Irene Stedman; treasurer, Joseph Finn.

Van Horn, Iowa

Chairman, Dr. C. Wirth; vice-chairman, D. M. Turnbull; secretary-treasurer, H. C. Fintel.

Charlestown, Mass.

Chairman, Henry Powne; vice-chairman, John T. Galvin; secretary, Stephen O'Leary; treasurer, Jeremiah Ryan; organizer, John Magoon.

Sherwood, Tenn.

Branch organized but officers' names not reported.

Spokane, Wash.

Chairman, E. L. Reinert; vice-chairman, Henry Wieck; secretary, J. W. Giffin; treasurer, M. T. Mackey; organizer, J. G. Smart.

Kiel, Wis.

Chairman, Chas. F. Allinger; vice-chairman, J. H. Rich; secretary, Max Goeres; treasurer, John Boege; organizer, Henry Goeres, Sr.

No Let-Up to It

At Amesbury, Mass., on March 5, Comrade Jason Spofford was re-elected selectman. Last year he received 522 votes and this he received 881, a gain of 359 votes. Last year he defeated his opponent by 17 votes, and received the smallest vote of the three who were elected; while this year he was highest on the list.

He was defeated last year for the office of overseer of the poor by five votes, while this year he was elected to that office, in addition to being elected selectman.

Dr. John Quincy Adams, the S. D. P. candidate last year for member of the board of health, was defeated by 43 votes, but this year he was elected by a plurality of 273 votes.

At Georgetown, Mass., on March 5, one of the largest votes ever cast in the town was polled, the total number being 173. Notwithstanding this our candidate for selectman received 132 votes, being defeated by only 37 votes.

The S. D. P. candidates for selectmen last year received 90, 35 and 32 votes each. The Social Democrats claim a vic-

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

tory, having elected George E. Dawkins as overseer of the poor by a plurality of 11 votes.

At Merrimac, Mass., on March 5, Everett M. Heath was elected as a Social Democratic constable by a plurality of 23 votes. The constable whom he defeated was chief of police the past year by appointment of the selectmen.

The two old parties united into a "citizens'" party in an effort to defeat the Amesbury Social Democrats, but didn't meet much success.

Mayor Chase at Home

"The convention of the Social Democratic party just closed in Indianapolis has been very successful, and probably it will be the historic convention of the Socialist movement in this country," said Mayor Chase this morning. "It marks the real beginning of the movement in America, and Socialism now marches forward with giant strides. The union of the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party was practically formed, which means that a united front will be presented in the coming campaign. Strong and powerful candidates, who will arouse enthusiasm and support throughout the country, have been nominated, and the working classes will rally for their support. Debs' well-known record in the labor movement will make him an ideal candidate. Harriman is known to be strong throughout the west and will add great strength to the ticket. I believe that with the united movement we have and with two such strong candidates the party will poll 1,000,000 votes."—Haverhill Gazette.

Social Democratic Convention

The Social Democratic party has just concluded its first annual convention at Indianapolis, Ind. The convention was called to order on March 6th, at Reichwein's hall, in that city. Delegates to the number of sixty-seven, representing seventeen different states, were present. The space at our disposal forbids us giving a detailed account of the proceedings, which can be found in the Social Democratic Herald of March 17th, which appeared on that date as an eight-page newspaper, as a special convention number. The convention was in every sense a complete success, and the spirit of earnestness and socialist unity prevailing amongst the delegates left nothing to be desired. The most important part of the proceedings were the nomination of Debs and Harriman for president and vice-president, and the appointing of a committee of nine to meet a similar committee of the S. L. P. in order to find if possible a basis of amalgamation of both parties. It will be apparent to all that the "one thing needful" at present is unity of all socialist forces for the coming presidential conflict, and taking into consideration the fact that the necessity of such union has strongly impressed itself upon the vast majority of members of both parties, we are justified in believing that there are no insuperable obstacles to such union.—Workers' Call, Chicago.

Boston Comrades, Attention

The joint committees appointed by the S. D. P. and S. L. P. of Boston, respectively, voted to hold a joint meeting of the members of both parties, Sunday, April 1, at 3 p. m. at Phoenix hall, 724 Washington street, to discuss the features of the United Socialist party.

Delegates to the Indianapolis convention will report; there will also be given a report of the meeting of the conference committees appointed at the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions.

A banquet is arranged after the close of the meeting.

All members of both parties are invited and urged to attend.

Squire E. Putney,

John Weaver Sherman,

Dr. M. J. Konikow,

of the S. D. P.,

M. Kaplan,

S. O'Shaughnessy,

J. Epstein

of the S. L. P.

Important Notice

To the members of the branches in the Twelfth congressional district of Massachusetts: The next meeting of the district committee will be held at Social Democratic headquarters, Rockland, on Sunday, April 1, at 11 o'clock a. m., to be followed by a meeting of the district organization which will meet at same place at 3 o'clock p. m. The district organization is composed of all the members in the district, and every member is urged to attend as the time is ripe for organization, and if we expect to do anything this fall we should commence as soon as possible. The district committee have organized one new branch since last meeting, "Stoughton," and there is room for more if every member will try and assist this committee. Remember, every member who reads this notice is invited to attend this meeting.

Chas. E. Lowell,

Sec. Cong. Com.

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NOTES FROM THE FIELD

David Rousseau of New York is one of the recent valuable acquisitions to the party.

F. G. Strickland addressed meetings of the organized bricklayers and piano-makers of Chicago last week.

Seymour Stedman and Frederic Heath left Chicago for New York last Friday to attend the conference committee meetings.

The Brooklyn Co-operation club is a recently organized body of active workers, whose heart is with the Social Democratic party.

There is remarkable enthusiasm shown everywhere among the branches east and west. Branch 45, Boston, has secured a large hall for permanent headquarters and is full of ginger.

For the heinous offense of speaking at a mass-meeting in favor of municipal ownership of the gas plant at Manitowoc, Wis., Comrade Fred M. Althen, organizer of the local branch, was discharged from his work.

The Indianapolis comrades manifested their devotion to the cause by defraying the entire expenses connected with the convention, amounting to \$52. They also arranged for a "smoker" which was much enjoyed by all the comrades who were able to attend.

A large and successful meeting in the interest of the candidacy of Theo. Williams for alderman of the Thirteenth ward on the Socialist ticket, was held last Sunday afternoon at Chicago avenue and Robey street, with Thos. J. Morgan as speaker. There was a good attendance of Social Democrats.

At a joint meeting of the Jewish branches controlling the paper Vorwärts, at New York, Comrade Wm. Sanger, treasurer of the state committee, introduced a resolution calling upon the managing board to assist the state committee financially to the extent of 10 per cent of the profits on all benefits which that paper may have in the future. The resolution was carried and Comrade Sanger already acknowledges receipt of \$25.

The Kentucky delegates to the convention have succeeded in imparting the good feeling and enthusiasm of that occasion to the comrades and sympathizers in that state. New members have been enrolled in the Louisville branch. The attitude of the party on trades unionism: meets with general approval, and the most friendly relations exist between the S. D. P. and organized labor in Louisville, where a notable increase of strength will be seen.

To Our Socialist Boy Friends

Boys, you may have heard of the formation of an organization in the city of Haverhill called the "Boy's Social Democratic Club."

This club in the last two months has grown from its eight charter members to thirty-five. Many of these came into the club for the purpose of having a good time and playing different games in our rooms. But now they are changed. Instead of having fun, they are working like beavers for the cause of Socialism, and can also put up a good argument in favor of it. In fact they have already had a good many talks with the republican boys, and have always come out on top. They are willing to debate with any of the boys of the two old parties. This is one of the results of the club.

The object of the club is to distribute Socialist literature throughout the city in preparation for the next campaign.

Boys, you should follow the example set by us, and form clubs in your respective cities, as you all know that in a short time we will be voters and have to bear the brunt of the battle.

We think our way is the only way we can do it, and beat the enemies of the laboring class.

If any of the boys would like information on the subject of clubs, please write to "The Boys' Social Democratic Club," No. 25 Washington street, Haverhill, Mass. We close with Three Cheers for Debs and Harriman. I. G. F. O'S.

Public Opinion Has Changed

The Moline Evening News of March 20 has the following reference to E. V. Debs and his recent lecture at that place: "The splendid audience at the Wagner Monday night and the rapt attention paid to Mr. Debs was a splendid tribute to that much-maligned gentleman. We do not know whether Mr. Debs was misquoted at the time of the agitation which resulted in his being thrown into Woodstock jail; probably he was. It would not be strange if he were, for most radical reformers are misjudged and misquoted, especially in troublous times. Unquestionably either Mr. Debs or public opinion has changed since then, and we more than half suspect it may not be Mr. Debs who has changed. Only a few years ago the word Socialism suggested to most ears the startling buzz of a rattlesnake in the grass at one's feet. Monday night, in Moline, a great audience—including many ministers of the gospel and even the mayor of Moline—applauded vigorously when Mr. Debs eloquently advocated government ownership of railroads and other public utilities. But that is Socialism—nothing else.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notice of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 o'clock. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Frank, 700 Barton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:30 p. m. at 1240 Lawrence St. Chairman, Dr. J. H. Marrow.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 198 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Bridgeport, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Nieldorfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Saturdays at 8 o'clock at Nagli's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gieseler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at 11:45 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamison, chairman, James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollant, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meetings in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 550 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 3, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 325 W. Camden st. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 734 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer 587, Sumner St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Main st. Meetings every Monday night at 10:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 8, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Lester's Hall, 104 W. Main St. Every member is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Sigal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 104 W. Main St. R. F. McLean, Secretary, 29 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

"Mr. Debs has few of the tricks of delivery of the orator; but he has what is better, a way of putting homely truths in terse and striking phraseology, that appeal to the hearts of his hearers and compel their cheerful assent. If any went with the expectation of hearing a ranting agitator, a sand lot orator, an incendiary demagogue, they must have been disappointed. Mr. Debs' lecture has certainly strengthened the love his admirers have borne for him and has made him many warm friends among those who had looked askance at him from a distance. Of the seed sown here, who can predict the harvest?"

Notice

No more orders for the double number, March 17, can be filled. The type has been distributed and it is impossible for us to furnish any more copies of that issue. Friends will please be guided accordingly; any remittances for that number will have to be returned.

New York Mail and Express: "The platform upon which it is proposed to run Debs is distinctly worthy of the candidate and will doubtless nerve him to sublime deeds. It is to resolve in favor of a 'co-operative commonwealth,' meaning by that the 'collective ownership' of all means of production and distribution."

It is this happy union of platform and candidate, with the amalgamation of the forces that believe in both, that worries 'em. Evidently we have made an excellent beginning. The Philistines are very unhappy.

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

History of the Paris Commune of 1861, paper cover. 25 cents; full cloth. \$0.75
Gospel of Discontent (compilation) .15
Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation) .15
Story of the Red Flag .15
Crimes of Capitalism .65

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MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Futnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stork, Secretary, 1200 W. 8th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 7 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 66 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 165 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 105 Second St. the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 224 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary, Sol. Pressman, 150 Broome St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 149th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 62 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Saturdays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 62 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. R. H. Brown, Sec., 215 W. 1st St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 24, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in social government is invited to be present.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1844 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 86 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansaff St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, S. 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2133 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 212 2nd St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 421 2nd St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Kuchner, Secretary, 78 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Geatke's Hall, 21 and Center Sts., at 8 p. m. John Kueper, Secretary.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIB

PRINCIPLES AND PERSONS

ANOTHER SERMON

If our parsons are going to quit sermonizing and take to politics, some of us will have to quit politics and take to sermonizing, just to preserve the balance of power. I don't threaten to do it myself, because I am not at all certain that I have had a "call"; but as my first attempt has already brought forth some good fruit, I shall try at least one more.

In that first sermon I pointed out the danger of making too much of personalities and not enough of principles. My meaning would have been better conveyed had I used the word "persons" instead of "personalities." As a matter of fact, my belief is that we can scarcely exaggerate the importance of personality, the influence of individual character, in a movement like ours, but it is indeed very easy to attach too much importance to persons engaged in it. We must not so belittle this great race movement in which we are each taking our own small part, as to imagine that its success depends upon or is brought about by any particular individual or set of individuals. If the earth had opened her jaws on the forenoon of March 9, 1900, and swallowed Reidewein's hall, Indianapolis, entire, with all the assembled wisdom and eloquence of the Social Democratic party therein, the co-operative commonwealth would yet arrive on time. So little does nature, in her grand, eternal process of evolution, care for the individual. The economic forces would carry the nation forward on their swift current until it met the inevitable necessity for Socialism. The principles of justice, love, equality, liberty and brotherhood exist, always have existed, and always will exist, and are ever clamoring for expression, even as the full-fledged idea in the brain clamors for expression in speech. They cannot be silenced. They cannot be put down. They will be heard. They will always find means of making themselves manifest more and more clearly, until they are recognized, adopted and at last enthroned in the hearts of men and in the life of the race.

And yet these economic and moral forces must work through individuals, as the grand harmonies in the soul of the master musician must remain forever silent and unknown without the musical instrument upon which to express them. Are not persons therefore all-important? Yes, persons, individuals are important, are absolutely necessary—as instruments. But this world is full of persons. The power behind evolution will not lack interpreters, will not want for mediums through which to act. The power that makes for progress, that has carried the race ever onward and upward through all the dim ages of the past, towards that far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves, does not find you, nor me, my comrade, indispensable to its purpose, however able we may be.

"You are needed in your place, For the growing of the race, But the growing does not all depend on you."

So, though no individual is essential to the movement—it could get along without any one of us—yet the personality, the character of those who do take part in it, is vitally important.

Though the fundamental principles in which we believe are the same the world over, their expression or presentation will differ according to the character of the one who expresses them, as the rays of the sun, falling through a stained-glass window, take on the varied colors of the glass through which they fall. According to the breadth, height and depth of a man's own nature will be his conception of the movement. The egotist, even in a movement which takes in the whole race, will see himself only. The man whose nature has become warped and embittered, sees only class-hatred and destruction. The bigot will persecute and attack those who differ from him, as bitterly as ever did any religious bigot in the dark ages.

The fact that a man has grasped the theory of surplus value does not involve the possession by him of all those qualities with which we are wont to endow the future citizens of the co-operative commonwealth. The recognition of the class struggle does not necessarily make a man honest, honorable, moral and brave, although it ought to. In fact, Socialists are pretty much as other men are. After seven years in the Socialist movement, (alas for my early ideals!) I have come slowly and painfully to the conclusion that the glorious ideal commonwealth to which we look forward is not to come down, like the Holy City, from God out of heaven, but has to be built, by our own grimy hands, out of common, every-day, ordinary clay—very common, ordinary clay indeed! "Even as you and I."

And yet, if we are not better than the unregenerate capitalist world around us, we ought to be. The ideal state of society which we keep before our eyes, ought to creep into and ennoble our own lives. Our desire for economic justice to all men ought to make us just to each other. Our struggle for economic equality ought to preclude strife within our own ranks for position or power.

The fact that we are a small body, only 5,000 among seventy hostile or indifferent millions, banded together to accomplish a seemingly impossible task, ought to give us enough to do to fight the enemy and seek by every means to keep our own forces intact. The effort to bring about a state of society in which each individual shall find his own highest good in the good of the whole ought to bring home to us the futility of seeking greatness by rising above the heads of our fellow-workers, and that we as individuals can only be great as the rest of our kind become great. Our ideal of human brotherhood should make us strive to be worthy of being brothers to the noblest souls God ever planned.

In short, we ought to try to be Socialists now, without waiting for the dawning of that far-off brighter day. We should try to live the principles we profess. Let some of the love, the justice, the equality, the brotherhood we talk about, creep down from our lips into our hearts, and thence out into our lives. Thus the movement will have its effect in ennobling and elevating our characters, and we in turn will give a loftier and purer tone to the general movement. Heaven knows it has unpopularity enough of its own to bear and to overcome, without having to overcome, in addition, the unpopularity of its exponents. A man who is known in his community for truth, honor and integrity, will get a hearing for any cause he may espouse; but if his fellow-citizens have no respect for him, they cannot be blamed if they accord scant courtesy to the cause he represents, however worthy it may be.

If we love the cause, let us be worthy of it. If we believe in Socialism, let us be Socialists now, not merely by giving intellectual assent to its doctrines, but by incorporating as many of its principles as we possibly can into our relations with each other, and into the working of our organization. Margaret Haile.

HERE'S A STICKER, FOR YOU

The following from the Washington (D. C.) Times (gold democrat) is immensely significant. It is one of the first signs that the democrats are "getting onto" the real meaning of Debs' candidacy. And if they are beginning so early, what will become of them after a while when we get going good and strong?

"If Debs runs over the million mark it is safe to assert that fully three-fourths of them will come from the elements that would support Bryan were Debs out of the field." A million votes lured from the Bryan column will, it is thought, mean the defeat of the Nebraskan by a larger popular majority than was east against him in '96. Debs' support will come mainly from New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Indiana—states which the Bryan managers at this juncture are quite hopeful of carrying. Without at least one of them—New York—it is conceded that the democrats will stand a very poor show. Though New York was carried by McKinley in the last campaign by the unprecedented plurality of more than two hundred thousand, yet the issue which then gave that state to the republicans is now removed from politics and the signs at present seem plainly to indicate a strong democratic revival in the Empire state. However, the Debs candidacy will so confuse the issues in the minds of a large element of New York voters that unless something is done to sidetrack him it is feared the real democratic growth will not be strong enough to carry the democratic ticket through. What is true of New York in this particular is true of the other states named. Especially can this be stated of Illinois, which has in Chicago an element of Debsites almost as numerous as New York city possesses. The question, then, of interest to democrats is as to how to eliminate Debs from the problem. He cannot be influenced by argument. No reward of office can be offered him, as was offered to Powderly by Hanna in the last campaign for his support of McKinley. Debs' record as a wild agitator precludes consideration of his name for any place of importance in the public service. If, therefore, the Hannaites are wise—and they have been called nearly everything else but fools—they will see to it that Debs stays on the track, even if it costs them more money than they had to spend in Illinois in '96."

THE TWO CLASSES

Our society is divided into two distinct classes, rich and poor, workers and parasites. The rich, privileged by fortune, are mounted upon the backs of the poor whom they crush, and yet compel to carry them, saying that they have but one desire, to improve their condition by every possible means, and this while resting on their backs.

To best serve their ends, the rich establish governments to bide from the poor the means of freeing themselves, besides using armed forces to maintain the existing order of things. To reconcile the poor to their misery and slavery, the rich and strong establish laws founded upon religious superstitions, appeals to patriotism, etc., all based upon violence.

All laws, even those palmed off as divine laws, were made by men, and as men are not infallible, no matter with

what external authority they may clothe themselves, they cannot become infallible by the fact that they organize themselves into an assembly to which they give the name of senate or other analogy.

If the workers have no land, if they are deprived of their most natural right, that of obtaining from the soil the sustenance of themselves and families, it is not because the workers wish it to be so, but because a certain class have organized things to suit themselves. And this unnatural order of things is maintained by the army. If the immense accumulations of wealth obtained from labor are treated not as belonging to all the people, but to a privileged few, it is because a few men have the right of making laws to which the rest must submit, and have their lives and labors spoliated. This does not exist because the people desire it, but because the government and ruling classes desire it for their profit and impose it by violence.—From Count Tolstoi.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS

The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party:

Social Democratic Herald. A. S. Edwards, editor, room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago. Price 50 cents a year.

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Social Democrat. 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price 50 cents per year.

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The Toiler. Ed. Evinger, editor, Terre Haute, Ind.

Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price 50 cents per year.

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New Light. E. E. Vail, editor, Port Angeles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year.

The Farmers' Review. W. E. Farmer, editor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents.

Sheboygan Volksblatt (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis. Per year, \$1.50.

People's Press. A. D. Hale, editor, Albany, Ore. Price \$1.25 per year.

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The People, 184 Williams St., New York. Weekly, 50 cents. A. N. Lee, editor.

Cleveland Citizen, 183 Champaign St., Cleveland, Ohio. Weekly, \$1.00. Max S. Hayes, editor.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other minerals, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

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